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EAST EUROPE REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
No. 1768

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

BREZHNEV CONGRATULATIONS TO GIEREK—Moscow, 18 Feb—General Secretary of the CPSU CC Leonid Brezhnev sent a message to PUPP CC First Secretary Edward Gierek. The message reads: "Dear Comrade Gierek. With great satisfaction, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and my own I cordially congratulate you on being elected first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party. The Soviet communists and the Soviet people—who know you very well as a high-prestige leader of the fraternal Poland and an outstanding activist of the international communist and working class movement—are convinced that the all-round cooperation and unshakable friendship between our nations will continue to develop suiting the interest of both our nations and the joint cause of the socialist community unification. Let me wish you, respectable Comrade Gierek, you and all Polish communists and the working people of People's Poland great successes in the implementation of the programme mapped out by the 8th party congress and in the work of building an advanced socialist society on the Polish soil." [LD182204 Warsaw PAP in English 2110 GMT 18 Feb 80 LD]

CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS SUPPORT DETENTE—Prague—A 2-day consultation between the Christian Peace Conference and the Berlin Conference of European Catholics ended in Prague on Thursday [7 February]. The representatives of the two international christian peace movements expressed their determination to continue to promote the policy of detente and to strive for relations of mutual trust among nations. The final communique stresses among other things that the representatives of the two organizations expressed their concern over the political plans of the United States and some West European countries to initiate a new phase of the cold war. That is why churches and christians must speak out against the propagandistic campaign aimed at disorienting the forces of peace and strive for the continuation of confidence-building policy among nations. The representatives of the two organizations were received by Karel Hruza, chairman of the Secretariat for church affairs attached to the office of the CSSR Government Presidium. [Text] [AU111426 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

ALBANIA

TIRANA TO EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS WITH MADRID

Copenhagen INFORMATION in Danish 12-13 Jan 80 p 2

[Article by E. G.: "Spain and Albania Exchange Ambassadors"]

[Text] It is reported from Beograd that Spain and the People's Republic of Albania will establish diplomatic relations within the near future. With this Albania, which for 15 years has been totally isolated in Europe due to its close cooperation with Maoist China, will be in contact with all the European Mediterranean area. At the same time Spain, which already had diplomatic relationships with the Warsaw Pact countries, will be able to review its opening toward the Eastern Bloc as concluded.

In spite of the imminent exchange of ambassadors between the two countries, sources in Tirana consider that Albania does not intend to participate in the European safety conference in Madrid next fall to which 33 countries in Western and Eastern Europe as well as the U.S. and Canada will send representatives. Albania remains the only country in Europe which refuses to sign the Helsinki agreement.

Already in November the Spanish ambassador in Yugoslavia certified the first three as Albanian citizens--two deputies and an interpreter which have subsequently been present at the congress of Spain's Marxist-Leninist Party in Madrid.

Albania, which at one time supported the Spanish revolutionary movement FRAP, has later repudiated all terrorist organizations in Europe and condemned the Red Brigade's killing of Aldo Moro in forceful terms.

This small, sparsely populated Communist state which has barely 3 million inhabitants is the only one in the world that officially declares itself Stalinist.

At the end of December the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Soviet dictator was celebrated with great festivities in Tirana. In 1968 the country resigned from the Warsaw Pact and has since stubbornly opposed any kind of relationship with both Moscow and Washington.

On the Albanian side, the most serious hindrance to relations between the two countries has been the residence of ex-King Leka Zog in Spain. However, Zog's banishment to Portugal last year after police found some weapons and ammunition in his villa outside Madrid made the thaw possible.

The exiled monarch brought the lion's share of his country's gold reserve to the British National Bank and ever since, Albania has asked in vain for the return of the gold. Great Britain, on its part, insists that Albania first has to agree to pay compensation for the English Navy destroyer that ran into an overlooked mine in the Corfu Strait at the end of the forties. Albania also has outstanding obligations to West Germany which are a result of damages during World War II.

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ALBANIA

PLANS FOR EDUCATION, CULTURE IN 1980 DISCUSSED

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 18 Dec 79 pp 1,2

[Interview with Tefta Cami, Minister of Education and Culture, by the editor of BASHKIMI: "The Successes of This Year -- a Source of Inspiration for the Successful Fulfillment of the 1980 Tasks"]

[Text] Question: Comrade Tefta, 1979 -- the jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland and of the victory of the people's revolution -- also was a year packed with tasks for the workers of in education, culture and physical education. Could you tell us how were they fulfilled and what are the achievements in these fields?

Answer: The general characteristics of the workers and organs of education, culture, art and physical education in 1979 have been: a deeper political and ideological understanding, a healthy optimistic and revolutionary spirit, a general mobilization and determination to fulfill with success the tasks assigned by the Seventh Party Congress and the recent plenums of the Central committee of the Albanian Workers Party for these sectors in order to greet, with new successes and victories, the glorious jubilee of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland and the victory of the people's revolution, as well as the 100th anniversary of the birth of the illustrious Marxist-Leninist, J.V. Stalin. The achievements in the three sectors are the concrete expressions of this mobilization. This year is the 10th anniversary of the implementation by our new school of the great program of the party, that was approved by the Eighth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party, held in June 1969, and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings on the revolutionarization of school. The educational workers, headed by the party, this year worked with clearer ideopedagogical, scientific and methodical objectives for the fulfillment of their tasks. Quantitative and qualitative increases were noted in the direction of strengthening the content of the entire educational teaching work and of generalizing the creative work of teachers and progressive experience in schools, as well as in the direction of fulfilling the educational plan, of supplementing the material and didactic base and of strengthening proletarian discipline.

This year, one of the main directions has been the determined work for embodying the theoretical idea of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, the experience of the building of socialism and the great struggle waged for the defense of Marxism-Leninism in the teaching and educational process. On this basis, 229 new and improved textbooks were compiled and given to schools, including textbooks dealing directly with Marxist-Leninist subjects for middle schools, pilot textbooks for higher schools, textbooks for social subjects and improved textbooks for basic theoretical sciences, for technical sciences, for military training and so forth. A considerable number of schedules for all school cycles has been improved.

The number of teachers, pedagogues and educational institutions that deal with study and scientific work has been increased, both in the field of education and the school and of documentation, and in the field of further expanding the technical and scientific revolution. These studies have helped in school work as well as in solving many problems of our economy and culture.

A broad and varied activity has been developed to acquaint the new generation with the 35-year-old road of our people's revolution, led by the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head, and with the struggle against imperialists and revisionists of all hues, for the defense of victorious Marxism-Leninism and for the cause of the revolution and of socialism; a special activity has also been developed for learning about and studying the life and work of J. V. Stalin.

All these have been influential in improving awareness among teachers, pedagogues, pupils and students, in strengthening proletarian and scientific discipline in work, in increasing productivity and the effectiveness of educational and teaching work, and in improving the quality of the assimilation of knowledge.

This year, the preschool education and middle education with and without interruption of work, especially in the village, were further expanded. A total of 78 percent of those who finish 8 year-schools attend middle schools with or without interruption of work, not including those who attend lower vocational schools.

The educational workers, just as all our people, made their contribution to the removal of the consequences of the earthquake of 15 April of this year. As a result of the measures taken by the party and the work done by the people themselves, teachers and pupils were given new schools, built in a very short time and equipped with the necessary means for the normal development of the teaching process.

Important results have also been achieved in the field of culture and art. The decisions of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party on the majestic celebration of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland and of the victory of the people's revolution, as well as of the 100th anniversary of the birth of J. V. Stalin, inspired our creative people to produce party-minded and militant works; they increased creativity and the participation of the masses in the amateur movement.

Within this framework, a number of cultural and artistic actions took place in all the country, such as the 17th Song Festival of Songs for "Fatosha" [heroes-members of children's organization] and pioneers, the national competition for young instrumentalists, the national exhibition of figurative arts with the works of "Fatosha" and pioneers, the Albanian Film Festival, the meeting of professional theatrical groups, the national exposition of figurative arts and so forth.

The cultural institutions have developed a greater activity in all fields. The production and dissemination of books, of film presentations and of theater and variety shows have been improved. A total of 318 titles of books were published, with 2,720,800 copies printed.

In this jubilee year the physical culture sector achieved some successes. The number of participants in activities has been increased, especially in the area of the physical training of the younger generation. The national spartakiad games honoring the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland was an important physical-culture and sports action. More than 500,000 workers--young men and young women--were involved in them. The great physical-culture and sports manifestation, where about 16,000 pupils and students of the capital participated, is the proof of the work being carried out in our schools for the education and physical tempering of the new generation. The experience gained in the organization of these activities will serve to increase the requirements and to strengthen the management of work in the future.

During this year we have worked to implement the recommendation of the party that the quality of different sports be improved quickly and on a mass scale. In some sports, such as in firing practice, hand games, and weight-lifting, the level and quality have been improved.

Question: Comrade Minister, where will attention be concentrated most in 1980, the last year of the Sixth-Five-Year plan?

Answer: The objectives and tasks for the further development of education, culture and physical education in 1980 have been assigned.

Importance will be given to the improvement of the level and quality of training of pupils, workers and specialists in all cycles of schools and disciplines for the 3 components. For this purpose, the activities for the lower cycle of the 8 year-school and for agricultural middle schools will be developed; in regard to this, studies will be carried out, problems will be analyzed and tasks for improving the quality will be assigned. The training of teachers will be improved in accordance with the field of sciences and the forms of training in schools, zones and districts will be revitalized and strengthened. The improvement of the documentation, especially the composition and improvement of textbooks on moral and political education and on basic theoretical sciences, and the compiling of the textbook on pedagogy and psychology, as well as on all school methods, will be pursued on the basis of studies and experiments. At the same time, the studies

concerning problems of content and of expansion and those dealing with the future development of some profiles and branches, as well as with the solution of the problems and tasks assigned by the economy and our socialist culture, will be completed.

The improvement of the level and of the quality of the schools is a very important and complex matter that deals with the great present and future tasks for the development of our country. First of all, it is necessary that the work for implementing school plans and schedules with discipline, complete strictness and unrelentingly by teachers and educational organs be strengthened, and that a single front between the family and the mass organizations be guaranteed during the entire process of education. Within this framework, teachers and pedagogues are entrusted with tasks of great responsibility for improving the quality level of the schools. They must have not only awareness and passion in work, but also a continuing improvement of their ideological and scientific level, creative work and serious preparation for every teaching hour, discipline and high work productivity. Routine work, formalism and manifestation of liberalism are foreign manifestations for our school and teachers; they must be eradicated through expanded, organized and persistent work.

In our teaching and educational activity with pupils and students, it is important that we instill in them the love for assimilating knowledge and the desire to learn not only for good marks, but also for the mastery of sciences and to be people of revolutionary thought and action, who place the interests of the people, of the party and of the fatherland above everything.

Many tasks are also assigned to the sector of culture and arts. The cultural activity, that will be held soon, will analyze the achievements and will assign problems and tasks for 1980 in the direction of further strengthening the ideological content of cultural and artistic activity, in the direction of reinforcing proletarian party-mindedness and the national character of the entire activity, and in the direction of improving the ideological, educational and cultural level of the masses, as well as in the direction of utilizing all the conditions and means, with full effectiveness, in order to make life more beautiful and more cultural. In addition to the important artistic actions that will be developed, work will be carried out to increase the number of publications and to improve the level and quality of vocational groups; efforts will be waged to further improve the management of cultural and artistic institutions; and some studies, dealing with the history and future development of arts of our country, will be completed.

The Fourth National Conference of the Union of Physical Culture and Sports will be held in January. The athletes, sportsmen, activists and sport cadres will come to this forum with some successes and will assign the new tasks for the future.

The main attention of the organs and cadres of physical education, especially in schools, will be concentrated on the formation of the healthy training among pupils and youth so that they might continually train themselves in physical education and sports. For this purpose, it is necessary for the

formative character of the process of physical education to be strengthened and for the level of the organization and of management of our physical, - education and sport movement to be improved, in order to have not only continuity but also quality. The national sports calendar for next year contains many mass activities, such as the sportakiad games, championships and so forth. Its goal is that we must further improve the work that was developed in the mass movement this year in order to implement, in the best way possible, the recommendations of the party for the complex, intensive, systematic, methodical and continual physical education of the younger generation.

Even greater requirements are levied in regard to the quality of sports for the coming year. For the purpose of improving the level of sports, efforts are being carried out to place the training process of the teams on healthier scientific bases, to strengthen the proletarian discipline of our sportsmen and instructors, and to improve the educational and tempering values of the many activities that are being developed in our country. Relying on progressive experience and on the opportunities and conditions that have been created, we will strive to be represented in the international activities in the most dignified manner.

The workers of the sectors of education, culture and physical education will mobilize themselves, with awareness and with the greatest sense of responsibility, to fulfill the tasks entrusted to them by the party and Comrade Enver, so as to successfully complete 1980, the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

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MAIN CONCERNS IN HEALTH FIELD FOR 1980 OUTLINED BY MINISTER

Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 23 Dec 79 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Health Llambi Zicishti by the editor of BASHKIMI: "The Protection of the People's Health Has Been and Will Remain the Main Concern of the Health Workers"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] During the jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland the health workers were also mobilized to fulfill their tasks. Comrade Minister, could you tell us what problems received the most attention during this year?

[Answer] During this jubilee year, a great mobilization in work to fulfill the assigned tasks has been noted among the health workers, just as among our people. A more intensive work was carried out for expanding the prophylactic character of our health sector and for continuing the improvement of the protection of the health of mother and child. Not only the prophylactic institutions, but also the health institutions, have dealt more with the prevention work and have scheduled important measures in the direction of detecting illness and providing dispensary care in accordance with the continuing recommendations of the party.

During 1979, the health organs at the center and in districts carried out greater efforts to further strengthen the health services in the village; the number of health cadres was further increased, and the stomatological and pharmaceutical service was noticeably improved in all the country.

Conferences on hygiene and prophylaxis have been organized in all the districts; they gave a great encouragement not only to studies in the field of hygiene, on the protection of the health of mother and child, on the protection of the environment from pollution and the prevention of occupational illnesses, but also were the cause for the development, on a broad scale in cities, work centers and villages, of many concrete actions in the field of hygiene that were influential in improving the hygienic conditions of life.

Within the framework of the 35th anniversary of the liberation of the fatherland, scientific sessions were held in almost all the districts and larger health institutions, where important clinical, experimental and organizational themes were treated, contributing to the raising of our health service to a higher level.

[Question] Comrade Minister, you mentioned the problem of detection of illness and of dispensary care. Is this a new thing in our medicine?

[Answer] This is not a new thing. We have a very rich experience in the field of detection of illness and dispensary care. Thanks to this method, we had very good results in the early elimination of malaria and syphilis and in the reduction of the number of cases of tuberculosis in a very considerable manner. Now our task is to apply this method in a broader style to a number of other diseases, such diseases of the heart and blood vessels, the endocrine system, and the diseases in the field of orthopedics and so forth.

In order to execute this task, it was necessary for us to take a number of technical and organizational measures for expanding and unifying the work of hospitals with that of polyclinics and health institutions in work centers and villages, in order to make these institutions capable of improving the coordination of their activity with that of the institutions of hygiene and epidemiology. The doctors of hospitals, polyclinics, and health centers in villages and work centers will, from now on, have more concrete and stronger connections with the base and, in a planned manner, will go among contingents of healthy people in order to discover all those who have early signs of disease.

[Question] Could you tell us, please, what has been done and what is being done for the further improvement of the health of mother and child?

[Answer] This is a matter on which the attention of our health organs and, in general, of all health workers, has been concentrated in a priority manner, so as to fight with greater force the manifestations of liberalism which, in some districts, have led to the weakening of the vigilance toward this very delicate matter that is closely linked with the future of the fatherland.

Now, many measures of an operational character are being taken; they aim at strengthening the care of mother and child in all links, not only in the curative sector, in hospitals and polyclinics, but, especially in the prophylactic sector, improving work in the consulting centers for women and children both in cities and villages, in maternity homes and, especially in creches for children. We are aiming at improving the effectiveness of health propaganda in order to make the issue of the protection of the health of mother and child the concern of the family and of society more than it has been, relying more strongly on the aid of the organizations and, especially, of women.

[Question] Comrade Minister, what can you tell us about hygiene and epidemiology conditions in the country during 1979?

[Answer] Hygiene conditions both in cities and villages, along with the improvement of the economic conditions of the country in general and of every family in particular, are improving from year to year. Along with the efforts to make the issue of hygiene of the country the concern of all the people, measures have been taken to equip the laboratories of the directorates of hygiene and epidemiology in the districts with modern equipment for discovering and treating for the level of environmental pollution in the air, land and water. Our organs of the state health inspectorate have been more active and more vigilant in their actions toward violations of regulations concerning hygiene and health.

Thanks to the broad anti-epidemic measures that were taken, 1979 has been a relatively peaceful year from the aspect of epidemiology. More than 100,000 children have been vaccinated against measles, diphtheria, poliomyelitis, whooping cough and so forth. At the Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology, the production plan of immunobiological preparations was fulfilled 100 percent; many experiments have been carried out on new products and on extending the period of the effectiveness of the preparations.

[Question] Do the progress in training higher cadres in medicine and their distribution respond to the new tasks being assigned to the health sector today?

[Answer] I think they do. During this year, we managed to have one doctor for every 687 inhabitants. We devoted a special attention to the proportional distribution of cadres, taking into consideration the conditions of the terrain and the level of health culture of every district and aiming, especially at improving the health service in the village. With the new cadres who were assigned this year, 200 other doctors will be dispatched to villages.

During this year, 280 cadres had specialized training in dentistry, pharmacy, and chemistry at the university clinics or central institutions and at the Institute for Military Medical Research, as well as 154 auxiliary cadres, not counting the work being done for technical-professional improvement, in accordance with the special schedules of the health institutions at the center and in districts.

In order to improve the training of the health personnel who serve mother and child, measures have been taken to begin, during 1980, 15 courses for the specialization of about 200 higher cadres and 24 courses for the training of auxiliary cadres, such as nurses of consulting centers, responsible persons and dietetic nurses in creches and so forth.

[Question] What are the new institutions that were added this year to the network of the existing ones, and what are the constructions expected to be built in 1980?

[Answer] During this year, the construction of the obstetric-gynecologic hospital with 200 beds was started in Elbasan; the building of a maternity home with 20 beds was completed in Kukes City; and the construction of 2 hospitals was begun at the Bulqize and Kraste mines in Mat for these 2 important work centers. Seven creches were built and put into operation in cities and in various agricultural enterprises and about 20 other creches were built and put into operation in villages.

During 1980, work will begin for the building of the obstetric-gynecologic hospitals in Durres and Berat, the center for the treatment of psychiatric diseases in Shkoder, the new hospitals in Bilisht and Peqin, and the directorates of hygiene and epidemiology in Tirana and Mat; work will be continued at the new center for the donation of blood, and quite a considerable number of creches will be built in the country and so forth.

[Question] Comrade Minister, 1980 is the last year of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. What will be the main objectives for the health workers?

[Answer] In 1980, without neglecting the other tasks, our health workers will concentrate their work more on the further expansion of the prophylactic nature of our health sector. Within this framework, the integration of the curative work with the prophylactic work will be carried out, especially by the means of the system of dispensaries; the health service in the preschool and school institutions will be broadened and strengthened, converting it into an organized and planned service; the work for the protection of the environment from pollution will be strengthened and the initiatives, that will be taken for the expansion of hygiene of the country, especially in the village, will be encouraged.

The concern and responsibility of the health institutions and cadres for a radical improvement of the medical care of mother and child will be increased from all points of view, resolutely struggling against all manifestations of indifference and liberalism toward this problem.

We will continue our work in regard to narrowing the gaps between the health service in the village and in the city; we will improve work indices in the out-patient service and hospital service for the sick; and will show greater care for the expansion of scientific studies in the various fields of medicine.

And, above all, we will work to expand the ideological and political education of our health workers, in order to make them capable of deserving the honorable name of being the servants of the people, always protecting the people's health.

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GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL SPEAKS ON CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

AU111452 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Feb 80 pp 1, 2 AU

[CTK Report: "To Work for the Homeland and for Peace; The Second Congress of the Association of Catholic Clergymen Pacem in Terris CSSR Has Ended"; quote-marks as published]

[Text] The Second All-State Congress of the Association of Catholic Clergymen, Pacem in Terris CSSR, ended in Prague on Wednesday. The second day of the deliberations was attended by CSSR Deputy Premier Mateu Lucan.

In the discussion, in which Dr Jozef Feranec, the bishop of Banska Bystrica and chairman of the Board of Ordainers of the Slovak Socialist Republic took the floor, among others, the participants in the congress pondered primarily over the mission of the church in promoting all attempts contributing to the peaceful coexistence of nations and to their mutual cooperation. They unequivocally rejected all attempts of imperialist forces to aggravate the international tension, attempts which threaten the peaceful and quiet life of all mankind. On the other hand, they pointed out the example of the Soviet Union's and other socialist countries' peace initiative, which shows the path to safeguarding peace and to understanding among nations.

G. Husak's Letter of Greetings

CSSR President Gustav Husak sent a letter of greetings to the participants in the Second All-State Congress of the Association of Catholic Clergymen, Pacem in Terris.

In the letter he expressed his satisfaction over the fact that the Catholic clergymen and their representatives want to continue to aid the further upsurge of our socialist society and the good development of relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the state. Our society, he stated, holds in esteem the work of all believers who are fulfilling their civil duties and are thus contributing to the building of socialism.

At the close of his letter CSSR President Gustav Husak expressed appreciation for the determination of the clergymen to continue to take part in the broad struggle for the preservation of world peace and to support the peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries aiming at the relaxation of international tension and disarmament.

CSSR Deputy Premier Mateu Lucan greeted the congress on behalf of the president and government of the CSSR. In the opening part of his address he acquainted the delegates with the contents of the letter in which CSSR President Gustav Husak answered the message sent to him by the participants in the congress from their deliberations.

He then emphasized that the 2-day session bears out the consensus on the solution of the basic problems of the present world as well as the fact that the Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergymen wants to continue taking an active part in the socialist construction of our homeland.

He said: "We value the results the working people of our homeland, associated in the national front, have achieved under the leadership of the CPCZ in the last decade and since the 15th CPCZ Congress. We also value your support for our foreign policy, which is a policy of peace and understanding among nations, a policy pursued untiringly by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and supported by peace-loving forces all over the world, a policy which corresponds to the innermost interests of all mankind.

I thank you sincerely for everything you have done in support of that policy. It is an encouraging balance sheet, which is worthy of the traditions that were established by progressive clergymen in the past and carried on by the founders of the peace movement of the Catholic clergymen 30 years ago.

You made a correct decision because you perceived the logic of social development, because in the decisive situations of our modern history you remained faithful to your people. You have dissociated yourselves from those forces that compromised themselves by their ties with fascism and, after the liberation of our homeland, by their ties with reactionary forces, and have made an active contribution to finding the path of constructive cooperation between the socialist state and the churches, irrespective of the differences in the sphere of world outlook.

That relationship is founded on mutual understanding and trust. An important driving force in that relationship is the harmony of the will to work for the homeland, for social justice, for understanding among nations and for mankind, to enable it finally to live without the fear of a war catastrophe.

You have thus become pioneers in shaping new relations between the church and the state. In the CSSR those relations are developing positively, without tension and without conflict. Questions cropping up in everyday life are being solved in a constructive manner, in the spirit of mutual understanding.

The relationship of our state toward religion is expressed in the Constitution of the CSSR, which anchors the right to religious freedom. The state is also helping to create the necessary conditions for the application of this right.

In 1979 alone our state earmarked more than KCS198 million for the maintenance of church institutions. In the past two decades dozens of churches have been built in the CSSR; church newspapers and religious press, literature and

[other] publications are being published in considerable editions. The training of new theologians is insured, our clergymen travel abroad widely, they attend theological and other conferences and take an active part in them. They are also making use of tourist facilities. Religious instruction is being provided at schools wherever this is the wish of the parents. All social benefits of our social system apply to clergymen just as to all citizens of our state. Church representatives have the opportunity to meet representatives of national committees and of the state and to talk with them on all matters of common interest. [AU111839] Our country is being visited by many theologians and is the venue of international religious meetings. The visiting theologians have the opportunity to convince themselves about the concrete opportunities of the citizens' religious life in Czechoslovakia. The impressions they take away with them are usually much more positive than the notions with which they arrive in our country.

We say openly that we are building our social system on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism and that we strive to educate our working people in that spirit. However, that does not prevent the churches from being guided by their theological teachings and from acting in their spirit. This alone bears out the deeply democratic character of our system.

However, our enemies, imperialist centrals of ideological diversion, the church emigration and the like do not want to see those facts. That is why they systematically organize various baiting campaigns and attacks on the CSSR, spread slanders and exaggerate each trifle or possible mistake, which, as a rule, we always succeed in solving by joint effort. No, the concern of those forces is not religion or freedom of religious belief. It is politics. Their aim is to make the church into a political opposition force against socialism and communism, against our system. However, their attempts have not found and will never find a fertile soil in our country. Our nations have learned on the basis of their own experience who their friends are and who their enemies are. The path they have chosen emanates from their deep conviction about the benefits of the socialist system and its profoundly humanitarian and truly democratic nature. That is why our citizens--regardless of whether they are believers or nonbelievers--support the policy of the CPCZ and the CSSR Government."

In the next page of his speech CSSR Deputy Premier Mateu Lucan expressed appreciation for the share of the association in the establishment of good relations between our state and the Roman Catholic Church. He declared in that context:

"We have demonstrated and continue to demonstrate our readiness to solve and to resolve some open questions existing between the Czechoslovak state and the Vatican. Talks on this have been going on for years between a Czechoslovak Government delegation and a Vatican delegation. Mutual understanding between the two sides requires time and patience. We are convinced that here, too, good will will yield fruit."

At the close of his speech CSSR Deputy Premier Mateu Lucan said: "We want our people to live in a better and cultured manner; we want the socialist

way of life to be applied everywhere in order to make the humanitarian nature of our system stand out to an even greater extent. Honest work for the well-being of the society, and thus for oneself, is decisive for that.

We believe that in the future just as in the past, your association will influence the believers in the spirit of those lofty ideals and thus contribute to the further upsurge of our homeland.

In a short time we will celebrate the 35th anniversary of our homeland's liberation by the Soviet Army and the culmination of our people's national liberation struggle. We will commemorate the terrors of war and will pay tribute to those who sacrificed their lives for us and our children to be able to live in freedom and dignity; in a society that is free of crises and exploitation; in full employment, abundance and with a feeling of social security. We will pay tribute to those who sacrificed their lives for us and our children to be able to educate ourselves and to develop our culture, as man should in the present stage of the development of mankind. We will demonstrate our belonging to the socialist community, rallied around the Soviet Union, to which we are indebted for our freedom and for the fact that for more than three decades we have been living in peace. With even more determination than so far we will continue the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of peace in the world, for understanding among nations. It is worth the effort and the struggle because war does not distinguish between believers and nonbelievers, because war means death and peace means life. We are convinced that in the future as well we will be able to count on you in this work."

After the conclusion of the discussion the delegates to the congress adopted a declaration, in which they reconfirm the efforts for the preservation of peace for mankind and the contribution to the lessening of tension and to the improvement of relations among nations as one of the main tasks of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergymen. From their congress they also sent a letter to Pope John Paul II.

At the close of the session the congress elected a new federal committee of the CSSR Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergymen. It is again headed by Dr Antonin Veseley, the vicar general of Oldmouc.

CSO: 2400

DZUR RECOUNTS MILITARY CONTRIBUTION TO ECONOMY

Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Jan 80 pp 1,5

[Article by Army General Eng. Martin Dzur, CSSR minister of national defense]

[Text] The Czechoslovak People's Army is an inseparable part of our socialist society. Its main role is to ensure reliable defense of the country and of the people's socialist achievements. With the current conditions of a division of the world by class and the unceasing efforts at liquidating socialism, it is, along with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact countries, especially the Soviet Union, a firm barrier against all the intentions and intrigues of the aggressive forces of world imperialism.

The threat of new imperialist military adventures, the constant increase in armament at a feverish pace, the attempt to deploy new, even more destructive nuclear missiles on West European soil all force the socialist countries to devote serious attention to the defensive capabilities of their forces while still striving for political and military detente.

The members of the Czechoslovak People's Army, neighboring directly on the strongest military concentration of NATO, stand vigilantly on guard at the western border, which is simultaneously the border of the countries in the socialist community. By constantly maintaining a high level of combat readiness and intensively fulfilling combat and political training tasks, they strive for full completion of all tasks set for the army by the military-political policy of the 15th CPCZ Congress.

Besides fulfilling demanding tasks in support of peaceful building of a developed socialist society and a peaceful life for our people during peacetime conditions, which often demand the maximum expenditure of all moral and physical forces, our army directly and indirectly takes an active part in the development of the national economy. It assists various economic branches, departments, and organizations.

One must recognize, however, that this aid is a considerable burden for the army. It places large demands on and affects the organization of the

educational-training process since the hours and days of training missed are usually made up at the cost of free time, often entire Saturdays and Sundays. We provide this help knowing that it contributes to fulfillment of a dual task, the building of and the defense of the socialist motherland. It also helps us to train members of the army and to strengthen the connections between and the indivisible unity of the army and the working people.

In many mines and electric power plants and in transportation people remember well the soldiers' help in overcoming difficulties caused by bad weather, especially in the first months of last year. The military helpers earned a good reputation, for example, at the Skoda Plzen, AZNP Mlada Boleslav, CKD Prague, and other factories. During the construction of a gas pipeline there was particular praise for the operators' knowledge and the crews of the special hoisting equipment.

There has also been praise for the participation of army members in key agricultural work such as cutting hay, especially in the border and mountain areas, chemical treatment of hops, harvest work, and picking potatoes, corn, and sugar beets. Each year this labor assistance regularly amounts to hundreds of thousands of work days.

There are many examples of soldiers, often at the risk of their own lives, saving the lives of their fellow citizens or hundreds of thousands or millions worth of material goods during floods, fires, and other serious disasters and misfortunes.

It is understandable that the labor assistance of members of the army or the commitment of entire units cannot be a matter of free choice. It is governed by the appropriate documents approved by the government of the CSSR or other competent organs. In accordance with them the assistance is provided in some cases by organized commitment of military units and equipment during the military working hours, in some cases by voluntary help during free time as part of a fraternal agreement, etc. Organized commitment of military units takes place during disasters threatening human life or important economic possessions, and in extraordinary cases after an initial period as the important economic interests of the state dictate. The government of the CSSR decides on requests by departments and the Minister of National Defense decides on the use of special military equipment. During life-threatening disasters when there would be danger in delay, the commander of the nearest garrison has the authority to issue the necessary orders.

The army provides important assistance to the national economy in other ways as well. An important role is played by specific organization such as the Military Construction enterprise, the Military Design Institute, and the Military Forests and Properties combines.

Even though the main task of the Military Construction enterprise is to meet the needs of the army in the field of capital construction, a considerable

of the German Democratic Republic). For the Prague subway they have designed the Lenin, Hradcany, and Peace Square stations, the entrances of the adjacent line tunnels, and the stairs at Vaclav Square and Mustek. The biggest storage warehouse in Czechoslovakia at Metotechna in Prague-Stodulky is likewise being built according to its designs.

An important part of the work of the VPU and Military Construction is assistance to the national committees and their organizations in accomplishing tasks in the field of civil construction. Usually these create friendly relations and contribute significantly to establishing useful fraternal cooperation between the army and the organs of people's administration.

Currently one of the main tasks of the VPU is work on the construction of the Palace of Culture, which will be a proud representative of Czechoslovak construction work as a whole.

When speaking of the help soldiers give to the national economy, we cannot forget the members of the Railroad Troops, who were transferred under the authority of the Ministry of Transportation by a governmental decree in 1957. The years since then have proven the validity of this decision and have shown the effectiveness and advantages of joining the complex military specialist training with the demanding requirements of developing railway transportation. Currently members of the Railroad Troops are getting specialist training both on secondary and main tracks, as well as on military trains, often with only a few days notice, and they are involved in the reconstruction of bridges, which is demanding from the technical, technological, and organizational standpoints. They also function as an operational resources of the Ministry of Transportation of the CSSR in carrying out special tasks, clearing up wrecks and the aftermath of dangerous disasters on the rail lines, etc.

Just in the last 22 years the Railroad Troops have produced works worth about four billion Kcs and their output is still increasing. They built or restored several thousand kilometers of railbed, hundreds of sidings, dozens of bridges, as well as contributing to many other tasks connected with the construction of factories, electric power plants, railroad stations, and other facilities from one corner of our country to other. Transportation units help out in the difficult situation of railroad transportation and support the operations of construction units in restoring railbed.

It is commonly known that the army has available a number of training areas which are located in the mountains and foothills, mostly wooded areas with poor soil. These are managed by the Military Forests and Properties combines which the year before last celebrated their 25th year of work. During that period their workers have done much for the army and for the national economy.

They are important suppliers of some agricultural and forest products. For example, they produced one million cubic meters of wood products, which

portion of its production capacity each year is used for the benefit of the overall national economy and millions of our citizens come in contact with the results of their operations. For example, the first covered sidewalk in the CSSR in the middle of Vaclav Square in Prague which was built by the Military Construction organization based on a design by the Military Design Institute set the standard for all further projects of this kind. This range of public construction works also includes extensive and very successful participation in the building of the Prague subway system. Military Construction built the I.P. Pavlov, Museum, and Peace Square stations as well as several kilometers of tunnels. Currently, Military Construction is working on line IIA and the entrance ways for the Jiriz Podebrad and Flora stations. They are also starting extensive work on line IB with its Karel Square, Norodna Avenue, and Mustek stations.

They have also made a considerable contribution to the construction of our superhighways. After successfully completing their tasks on a great portion of the north-south highway in Prague 4-Musly and at the V.I. Lenin Avenue in Prague 6-Dejvice, they also built the first 10-kilometer section of the highway from Prague towards Mirosovice and the 19-kilometer long section between Soutice and Horice. Another part of the highway between Horice and Koberovice was put into operation on 9 May of last year because a fraternal commitment in which Military Construction took part to a large degree was completed. They also successfully performed another task and recently handed over another 18 kilometers of highway for use near Humpolec.

The construction of our network of major civil airports is also inseparably connected with the activities of military construction workers. This primarily concerns the international airport in Prague-Ruzyně with its very modern terminal, but also airports in Bratislava, Brno, Ostrava, and Poprad. Thousands of people now reside in apartments which they have built. In our road system there are a number of bridges and other facilities which are a result of their good work. On the other hand, workers in their demolitions center have cleared areas for new construction by the demolition of dozens of old factory smokestacks and various buildings and other installations, as well as blasting millions of cubic meters of rock and other material.

The workers at the Military Design Institute [VPU], bearer of the Order of Labor, also contribute to the development of the national economy. To name all of the works which have resulted from their creative operations would be a long list of schools, apartment buildings and housing developments, airports, industrial plants, communications facilities from which was developed the equipment for the Intersputnik satellite communications, and many other projects and installations. Much of the superhighway construction is being carried out based on VPU designs. Completion of the D1 highway (Prague-Brno) involved the institute as the general designer for over one third of the route. Currently it is working on designs for highway D11 (Prague-Hradec Kralove-border of the Polish People's Republic) and beginning preparations for D6 (Prague-Ustina-Laben-border

amounts to 7 percent of the national production. They supply annually more than 9,000 tons of grain, more than 2,800 tons of fresh meat, and 21 million liters of milk. During their existence they have shown themselves capable of increasing the grain production four-fold, more than doubling the supply of meat, and making a 50 percent increase in the extraction and supply of wood. They get an average yield of 3,514 liters of milk annually per cow and exceed the national average considerably. It is especially important that they are achieving these results with a decreasing number of workers.

In the training areas there is great attention paid to maintaining the biological balance and protecting water supplies. They have built 2,300 well-equipped apartments for their workers, which would be the same as a village with more than 5,000 inhabitants if they were concentrated all in the same place. The many members of the Military Forests and Properties collectives include 40 percent women. To facilitate their functioning in the work environment, they have therefore built nurseries, day care centers, and other facilities from their own resources. A number of Military Forests and Properties enterprises, administrations, and plants are among the foremost economic production units and work areas in their regions, not only for the main types of products but also for their political and educational activities.

The auxiliary agricultural organizations which most units have also contribute to an increase in the national agricultural production. They ensure the use of all soil in military areas, garrison training areas, and elsewhere that there would otherwise be no, or only minimal, utilization. They also effectively make use of refuse from kitchens and mess halls for livestock production and thus these organizations supply the units with part of their needs, especially pork, fat, and vegetables.

In order to make it easier for our construction industry to carry out the tasks that it performs for the national economy, it was decided on the basis of a resolution of the CSSR government that the army will use its personnel and equipment to accomplish itself some of the capital investment projects, especially in the development of military educational facilities. This decision is being successfully implemented, particularly in the construction of the facilities for the Higher Military School of the Ground Forces in Vyskov and at the Higher Military Technical School in Liptovsky Mikulas.

There is also a contribution made to our society as a whole by the operations of various repair enterprises, research institutes, and military polygraph and other military facilities. Thousands of army members also effectively take part in implementation of the election programs of the National Front in their individual garrison towns.

In keeping with the strategic line of the party economic policies, members of the army are deeply aware of the demanding requirements for further increasing the effectiveness and quality of all kinds of work and maximum

economizing and savings, especially in the consumption of fuel and energy. They make all possible efforts at careful operation of the equipment and materiel entrusted to them.

These requirements are also met in an important way by the development of initiative and activity. Socialist competitions and other patriotic movements help to fulfill them.

In inseparable unity with the working people and firmly joined with the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and its central committee, members of the Czechoslovak People's Army in the festive year marking the 35th anniversary of completion of the national liberation struggle of our people and the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the glorious Soviet army are putting forth all their efforts to ensure a reliable defense of the motherland and by their assistance are sharing in the accomplishment of the demanding tasks of the national economy.

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CSO: 2400

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

JOSEF MACHACKA FUNERAL—The funeral of Comrade Josef Machacka, the late member of the Central Control and Auditing Commission of the CPCZ, a member of the Presidium of the Czech National Council and the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, took place today in the Strasnice Crematorium in Prague. Together with members of his family, members of a delegation of the Central Committee and the Central Control and Auditing Committee of the CPCZ, the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association and the Czech National Council led by candidate member of the Presidium and CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Milos Jakes, who delivered a speech, paid homage to the memory of the deceased. [Text] [LD111718 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 11 Feb 80 LD]

AMBASSADOR TO CAPE VERDE—CSSR President Gustav Husak has appointed M. Kollar the new CSSR minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Cape Verde Islands. He will be based in Conakry. [AU081416 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Feb 80 p 1 AU]

YOUTH FOR WORKERS PROFESSIONS—The Slovak Ministry of Education plans sending more than 49,900 pupils of the 87,500 boys and girls completing their elementary schooling this year to be trained for "workers professions." [AU081416 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

RABIES IN CZECH LANDS—A "wave" of rabies among foxes has been reported from Bohemia's southwest border regions. The wave, which is moving inland, is known to have affected badgers, martens, weasels, muskrats, squirrels, hedgehogs and deer. [Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 9 Feb 80 p 7 AU]

CSO: 2400

AGENDA OF UPCOMING SOCIOLOGY CONGRESS OUTLINED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 1, Jan 80 signed to press 7 Dec 79
p 99

[Text] The theme of the Third Congress for Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the GDR, to be held in Berlin from 25 to 27 March 1980, will be the social structure and way of life in the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR. The organizers are the Scientific Council for Sociological Research in the GDR and the National Committee for Sociological Research, GDR Academy of Sciences.

The conference is concerned with helping to clarify the connection between the development of the social structure, its laws, and the development of the socialist way of life. In confrontation with bourgeois and revisionist concepts of social structure and way of life, a contribution is to be made--through the analysis of the social motives of the workers' creative activity--to the management and planning of social processes.

Sociologists and other social scientists will discuss new findings from sociological research with representatives from the field and will confer about new projects.

In addition to the plenary meetings, the program includes plans for discussions in the following study groups:

1. Rapprochement between working class and intellectuals; the inevitable reduction of social distinctions between manual and mental work
2. Social structure and way of life of the rural population in the development of industrialized agricultural production
3. Scientific-technical progress, personality and socialist way of life
4. Social motives and problems of education, qualification, and vocation
5. Social development of the city and socialist way of life
6. Family and working wife and socialist way of life

7. Social activity of youth and socialist way of life
8. Leisure time and socialist way of life
9. Social policy and socialist way of life
10. Indicators for sociological analysis of social structure and way of life
11. Social structure and way of life in the ideological class conflict

Round-table discussions are planned for the following groups of problems:

- Development of the socialist way of life in large cities of the GDR (experiences and findings of interdisciplinary research work)
- Territory, social structure, and way of life (problems of management and planning of social processes in kreises and bezirks)
- Sociology of the developing countries--experiences and tasks of GDR sociology
- Healthy regimen and socialist way of life
- Education of sociologists at GDR universities and their employment in the field

All inquiries concerning the congress are to be addressed to: Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee, Organization Committee of the Third Congress for Marxist-Leninist Sociology in the GDR, 108 Berlin, Johannes-Dieckmann-Strasse 19-23.

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

AWARDS ON CIVIL DEFENSE DAY—Berlin (ADN)—For the forthcoming GDR Civil Defense Day, which will be commemorated on 11 February, Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister, has awarded high state decorations for outstanding achievements. He thus has paid tribute to the dedication of the members, voluntary workers and collectives of civil defense as well as of the cadres from party-state organs and social organizations. At his order Lt Gen Fritz Peter, head of the GDR's civil defense, presented the awards. The honorary title of "meritorious member of GDR civil defense" went to, among others, Civil Defense Lt Col Rolf Luellepop, Civil Defense Maj Annelies Bertram and to Kurt Klingenberg. Other personalities and collectives, including the rescue and maintenance formations from Weisswasser Kreis, a supply platoon from Schwerin Bezirk and the Civil Defense Committee of the VEB Berlin Drinks Combine were awarded the combat order "for merits for the people and fatherland" and the GDR civil defense medal of merit. Lieutenant General Peter stated that the protection of the achievements of the socialist state has been further strengthened by the initiatives of the many thousands of working people and that it is important to deepen the social nature of civil defense. [Text] [AU081805 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Feb 80 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2300

STATUS OF HUNGARIANS IN SLOVAKIA DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 6 Jan 80 p 11

[Interview with Gyula Lorincz, president of the Cultural-Social Association of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia [CSEMADOK], by Karoly Vigh. Bratislava [Pozsony], date not given.]

[Text] Gyula Lorincz is a great figure of the Hungarian nationality in Slovakia. He is going to have his 70th birthday in January. The preparations for celebrating this event have already begun. In Pozsony a TV-film will present his long life, and Budapest TV will put together the portrait of this outstanding figure in Hungarian-Slovakian progress from material lasting 6 hours.

His life has in fact been inseparable from the history full of afflictions of Slovakia's Hungarians. He was not only an eye-witness and creator of solemn events but also an inciter in the difficult moments in the life of this nationality that has had so many hardships.

He is a politician and artist. He was present at the birth of the Sarlo [Sickle] and fought, together with Edgar Balogh, through many difficult periods of this movement of Central European significance. Through his famous graphic works he became a late chronicler of the 1931 Bloody Pentecost when one of the victims of the shooting by the Czechoslovakian gendarme was a 17 year-old boy from his home town, Dioszeg [today Sladkovicovo] of Matyusfold. And he went secretly to Marseille to help, on behalf of Czechoslovakia's Communist Party, to get Central and Eastern European volunteers into Spain to fight at Erbo and Madrid against the fascists. And when the Nazi danger reached bourgeois democratic Czechoslovakia, Gyula Lorincz was one of the organizers and speakers of the historically significant anti-fascist demonstration at Vagtornoc.

These are only a few events of his "public career" between the two world wars. However, there was no mention yet of Gyula Lorincz, the artist. Komarom, Pozsony, Budapest and Paris: each has been an important period in his artistic career. As a young man, he was already interested in the works of pioneer and experimental artists. He was frequently present at Kassak's [Lajos Kassak, prominent Hungarian poet] "Work" meetings and the meetings of the Miklos Bartha Society where he met Huber Desi, Attila Jozsef.

Gyula Illyes and Aladar Tamas [poets and writers]. In Budapest he studied with Janos Vaszary. While in Paris he became acquainted with the whole artistic and spiritual world of the 20th century. Gyula Lorincz is one of the leaders of native Hungarians in Slovakia. He is the founder and president of the CSEMADOK. The first opportunity to create this organization came only on 5 March 1949, a year after the February 1948 victory of the Czechoslovak working class which was preceded by the dark years of collective deprivation of civil rights. With the exception of a few years (1968-71), he has been and still is the head of CSEMADOK.

[Question] What was the beginning like?

[Answer] At the beginning of our work, in 1949, when we were given back our civil rights, we made a vow to make the CSEMADOK an organization of Slovakia's Hungarians which would do its cultural and propaganda work in such a way that would aid the peaceful co-existence of the Slovaks and Magyars. We have been, and are, trying to honestly keep this vow.

The beginning years were made more difficult by the order according to which our organization could not include "re-Slovakized" people whose number at that time exceeded 300,000. These were Hungarians who, fearing the consequences of collective deprivation of civil rights, gave in to the pressures from above and renounced their Hungarian nationality, declaring themselves Slovaks. Our party and the government authorities, recognizing during the 1950's how wrong this order was, revoked it. They made it possible for the Hungarian nationals to become involved in other mass organizations as well. On the other hand, our sphere of activity still includes only Slovakia and thus we cannot promote Hungarian culture among the approximately 21,000 Hungarian-speaking citizens living in Bohemia--whose number is similar to that of Slovaks living in Hungary.

[Question] What kind of political role do the Hungarian nationals play in the CSSR?

[Answer] It was a recognition of our political rights when, beginning in 1954, we were allowed to take part in the national assembly. There are numerous leading politicians, even in the highest positions, who are Hungarians. Prague's federal assembly has 19 Hungarian representatives; 16 of the 150 members of the Slovakian National Council are Hungarians. Alongside with Czechs and Slovaks, Hungarian representatives are also members of special committees of the Federal Assembly. Representatives of the Hungarian nationals are to be found even in the highest positions of government and party organizations. I am, for example, a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's Central Committee. The Minister of Labor and Social Affairs in the Slovakian government is Dezso Krocsanyi, and the president of the Nationality Council, which is active alongside the Slovakian National Council, is Mate Benyo. Zoltan Rabay, editor of the Uj Szó [New Word], is candidate member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's Central Committee. As a result of the democratic structure of political life, the largest numbers of Hungarian nationals are active in national committees.

[Question] Has there been the experience, or is there a danger that is may happen, that Hungarians suffer discrimination in areas of mixed population, especially where they are in a minority?

[Answer] Laws or national committees cannot by themselves, of course, guarantee a smooth practice. There can be, and are, less efficient, or inefficient, national committees, the same way as there are, no doubt, in Hungary's councils. In such cases the entire population of a given area is suffering because of a single civil servant or team of leaders.

Most complaints of the nationalities involve mainly cultural or educational areas. However, in such cases, too, one must see both sides of the coin. If, in one or another national council, a Hungarian official acts in a compromising way, without representing the case of a certain Hungarian school or kindergarten of a city or district by appropriate arguments and debate, then we point not to the Slovakian but to the indecisive and opportunist Hungarian officials of the institution.

Fortunately, relations in the national committees are generally smooth. There are, in fact, nice examples, too, such as the case of the Hungarian Area Theater in Komarom which was established--and whose completion is demanded--not by the district's leaders whose majority is Hungarian, but by Peter Colotka himself, the Slovakian government's prime minister, and by Miroslav Valek, minister of culture.

[Question] What is the present role of the CSEMADOK in the life of Czechoslovakia's Hungarian nationals?

[Answer] According to a report at our last general assembly (the 12th held in 1977), there is a CSEMADOK organization in the almost every village of Southern Slovakia, and more than 12 percent of the 600,000 or so Hungarians are members of our organization. Our organization has many cultural activities. We organize our Gombaszog and Zseliz festivals every year, and we are proud of our developing song culture. Each year more and more people enter for the folk singing contest "Spring's Wind Brings Floods" which began in 1972, and the interest of the audience is also growing.

Our ethnographical collectors are doing a fine job which is well proven by the fact that the first publication of their collections was already published in 1975, and the second in 1978. The number of folksongs in the CSEMADOK ethnographical collection has increased by about 5,153 since the last general assembly. Popular are the author-reader meetings and the regular literary and cultural events connected with a great son of one of our cities or with his activity there. Especially successful are the Kazinczy Philological Days and Fabry-Days at Kassa, the Csallokozi Cultural Days at Dunaszereda, the Gergely Czuczor festivals in Ersekujvar, the Jokai festivals in Komarom, and the Kodaly festivals at Galanta. At Losconc, we celebrated the 300th anniversary of the birth of Pal Raday, chancellor of Rakoczy, by inviting outstanding artists, actors and musicians from Hungary. A delegation of the presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences also laid flowers on Raday's

grave. Among the great anniversaries were programs featuring the works of Madach, Petofi and Ady; this year, numerous towns organized nice programs as parts of the Moricz and Mora anniversaries.

There are, however, opportunities for us that are still unexploited. Several districts of ours, for instance, do not pay enough attention to the study of our country. For we think it is important for every district to have a regularly operating historical subcommittee whose task, just like in Hungary, is to collect and study the historical relics of individual villages and cities, and to place markers on the birth places or places of activity of our outstanding authors, artists and other public figures.

[Question] This activity is many-sided indeed and this is surprising, for it seemed in 1968 when the CSEMADOK together with the other cultural organizations such as the Slovenska Matica and the Ukrainian organization was not allowed to remain a member of the National Front so that this would decrease its significance. What is your opinion on this question?

[Answer] We also had such worries but experience shows that this pessimism, fortunately, was not justified. This worry will be further alleviated even more if I add to the increasing activity above the fact that CSEMADOK has a budget of 12 million today and that it has 95 full-time paid employees in the district organizations, in the central office and in our weekly magazine *Het [Week]* which has a circulation exceeding 29,000 copies.

[Question] What do you think, as president of the CSEMADOK the educational situation of the Hungarian natives and what is your opinion of the measures taken in recent years by Hungary in the questions of nationality?

[Answer] Hungary's policies are by all means laudable. They resulted, especially in recent years, in a significant expansion of the educational network of the nationalities—even among the Slovaks—and in an increase of opportunities for education in one's mother tongue. I must note at the same time that the historical past, the ethnic, cultural and linguistic conditions, and the national consciousness of the population of Slovak pockets and fragments that were created in Hungary after chasing out the Turks, cannot be compared with Slovakia's Hungarian nationality which lives in a contiguous language area between the Csallóköz and the Bodroghöz, in close relation with Hungary's ethnic Magyars and with a historical background and mutualism of a 1,000 years. This explains that while Slovak parents in Hungary must be practically supplicated to send their children to Slovakian schools. Such "state courting" to send Hungarian children to Hungarian schools does not exist in Slovakia.

Although it is not exactly a task of the CSEMADOK we cannot ignore a few cases where a community has a Hungarian elementary school but has failed to open a kindergarten. This is why it can happen in Losonc that, since it does not have a Hungarian kindergarten, Hungarian children coming from Slovakian kindergartens must be taught their mother tongue in the first grade!

[Question] What is the role of art in your present activities?

[Answer] Since I was elected president of the Slovakian Artists Association in May 1977 dealing with art is one of my duties. After all, the president is responsible for all actions of the association. When we organized, the exhibition of artists from all parts of Slovakia for example, we had arguments with hard-liners. It was difficult for me to achieve that our young and talented artist be allowed to experiment. In the old times we, too, undertook path-breaking under the spell of Kassak and others; we liked the avant-garde. This is what I had in mind when I stood up for the young people. It makes me happy that they, and I, turned out to be right.

Incidentally, it is a good feeling that the Slovak painters and sculptors not only accepted me as president but I have their total support—being Hungarian—to administer the Slovak Artists Association.

9414

CSO: 2500

KSS 'KOR' CALLS FOR BOYCOTT OF MARCH SEJM ELECTIONS

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Feb 80 p 1

[Text] Independence supporters have summoned the people of the Polish People's Republic to boycott the so-called "elections" for the so-called Sejm which are to be held on 23 March. On Friday the Security Service made it impossible for a meeting of the Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR" to take place in Warsaw and arrested many of its members. Some of them were still under arrest yesterday.

The appeal for a boycott of the elections was signed by the National Coordinating Committee of the various independence organizations, free trade unions, and pro-independence student and Catholic organizations. The text was made available to Western press correspondents. Among the signatories of the appeal was the Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR."

Acting in the name of the Coordinating Committee, Wojciech Ziembinski explained that a long time before the announcement of the boycott a letter had been sent to the Chairman of the Council of State, Jablonski, with a demand that serious changes be made in the electoral law. These changes, namely the participation of the opposition, which would announce its own candidates, would make it possible to hold more democratic elections. As is known, the only persons allowed to be candidates in the so-called "elections" are those whose candidacies have been confirmed, in theory by the National Unity Front, in practice by the party.

Having received no reply, the Coordinating Committee sent to the voters an appeal in which it writes, among other things, the following: "All Poles who do not support the system of totalitarian power imposed on our nation 35 years ago ought, in the name of the dignity of the nation, to refrain from participation in the upcoming elections."

A meeting of 34 members of the Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR" was to take place last Friday evening in the Warsaw apartment of Professor Edward Lipinski. The Security Service made this impossible by posting its goons at the apartment and by organizing a hunt for its anticipated participants, not only in Warsaw but also in the provinces, that is, in the places whence the members of the Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR" were to go to the meeting.

Jacek Kuron was arrested on the street as he was leaving his Warsaw apartment with Professor Jan Kilanowski and activist Jerzy Nowacki. The police agents left Kilanowski in peace, but detained Nowacki and Kuron.

Anka Kowalska was also arrested on the streets of Warsaw, and other independence activists were prevented from taking their places on trains going to the capital.

Neither the Militia nor the Security Service entered Professor Lipinski's apartment, but it was surrounded so tightly that only 4 independence activists succeeded in getting in; the others were driven off or detained. At the same time agents conducted searches in the apartments of historian Adam Michnik and of Jan Lipinski.

The Social Self-Defense Committee "KOR" informed the foreign press that the meeting had been put off for one day, but it is not certain whether they managed to hold it, because the following were still under arrest on Saturday: Jacek Kuron, Adam Michnik, Jan Lipinski, Jerzy Nowacki, Piotr Naimski, and Antoni Macierewicz. Anka Kowalska was released on Friday evening.

The meeting of those who were not detained was to take place in the apartment of Aniela Steinberg.

On Saturday the Warsaw evening daily EXPRESS published an interview with a certain Jozef Czyrek, vice minister of foreign affairs, who stated that detente and the policy of dialog with the West continues to remain the basic principle of Polish diplomacy. Only he forgot to add that a Polish foreign policy does not exist in Warsaw, because everything goes through Moscow.

CSO: 2600

'FLYING UNIVERSITY' APPEALS FOR POPULAR, FOREIGN SUPPORT

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 22 Dec 79 p 6

[Statement by the Program Commission of the Academic Courses Society]

[Text] The educational activity of the Academic Courses Society has been threatened as a result of the growing repression of recent weeks. We consider it our responsibility to alert public opinion to the extent and form of this wave of persecution which continues despite the tradition of spiritual tolerance rooted in Polish culture. For the past 2 years the Academic Courses Society has been active in education, discussion and publication. Convinced that the broadening of independent thought and education is in the interest of national culture, we endeavor to create conditions in which instruction and self-education can be conducted in the spirit of respect for truth, tolerance of all points of view and civic concern in matters relating to the republic. We function openly, in compliance with decrees defining the foundations of political life and the laws and civic obligations in our country.

Our activities were met with repression by the authorities. The extent and intensity of repression are recognizable as being completely disproportionate to the modest material resources at the society's disposal and the scope of its influence. It can be presumed that the very fact of our breaking through the official government monopoly as well as our intention to study and teach the truth about our country's past and present were seen by the authorities as a real danger. Members of the Academic Courses Society are constantly subjected to personal and professional harassment. In 1978 owners and tenants of apartments in which educational activities were conducted were fined, instructors and students were detained, and even acts of violence on the part of the police occurred. At the beginning of 1979 the fight against the Academic Courses Society took on a new form. Organized gangs were sent to the Academic Courses Society classes in order to prevent lessons by means of acts of physical violence. The social threat of this type of activity, into which the youth throws itself, called for a resolution of the general membership of the Academic Courses Society. In a wide range of social centers the activities of the gangs were met with outrage and alarm. Resolutions of many student conferences gave voice to this; various university,

academic and cultural centers protested, as did the officials of some Polish academic societies. Because of a feeling of civic responsibility concerning our activities, we decided that, as of the beginning of the new academic year, we would limit the public work of the Academic Courses Society and develop first of all self-education in seminar groups. Nevertheless, our work has been met with constantly increasing repressive actions on the part of security authorities. These are the facts of the past weeks:

For Wladyslaw Bartoszewski's inaugural lecture, "Polish Underground Government During Hitler's Occupation," both the lecturer and the apartment tenant were fined 5,000 zlotys. Apartments where self-education meetings were to take place were subjected to searches lasting several hours during the scheduled meeting time. Functionaries of the Citizens' Militia and the Security Service wrote down personal data about all arrivals to the apartments, and photographed them as well as all pedestrians passing the buildings. Bogdan Cywinski's lecture, "Dilemmas of Christianity in Independent Poland, 1918-1939," was prevented in the same manner. Repressive measures were taken against Academic Courses Society instructors and members. On the day of his seminar, Jrezy Jedlicki was taken from his house and detained for several hours at the Mostowski Palace. Bogdan Cywinski, whose lecture was prevented, was taken by Security Service functionaries who then conducted a search lasting several hours in his private apartment. Tadeusz Kowalik and then Andrzej Werner were arrested in Poznan before their scheduled meetings with students and were detained for many hours.

In the name of the Academic Courses Society we wish to express our outrage at these acts of violence and repression. We consider them dangerous signs of a return to intimidation and violence in the political life of the Polish People's Republic. We declare that, taking advantage of all the laws and means guaranteed by the Constitution of the People's Republic as well as taking advantage of the Polish Government's international obligations concerning respect for human rights, we will continue our activities in the spirit of the Academic Courses Society's declared program.

We are making a fervent appeal to all social centers in the country to support our efforts and to defend the existence of the Academic Courses Society. We especially appeal to Polish academic and university centers, to those who create and influence culture, and to teachers not to accept rule by violence and repression in intellectual life and in the education of the younger generation. We turn to Poles beyond the nation's borders. Up to the present, the activities of the Academic Courses Society have been met with understanding in Polish expatriate centers. We count on continued support for our work in the conviction that it serves the vital interests of a national culture whose future depends on the extent of tolerance of freedom of thought and conscience in our common nation.

We also look to international opinion, to educated and cultured people throughout the world. We wish to express our gratitude for the signs of

solidarity and support which we have up till now received from organizations and people in various countries, as well as for financial support given to our Fund for Academic Aid. Because of the situation in which the Academic Courses Society finds itself at present, we again are counting on solidarity and moral support for our activities, on condemnation of the persecution directed at us, and on public defense of violated intellectual and academic freedom. We are convinced that what is involved here is not only the feeling of community among people of learning, education and culture, but also loyalty to principles which constitute the profound and vital foundation of community life and contemporary civilization.

Warsaw, November 1979.

9461

CSO: 2600

PEASANTS PLAN TO STRIKE TO PROTEST HARASSMENT OF PRIEST

London DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 11 Feb 80 p 4

[Text] (t)—The Peasant Self-Defense Committee of the Grojec region, which is active in Zbrosza Duza, has issued a special statement condemning the Security Service raid against the pastor of that village, Father Czeslaw Sadlowski, and announced a protest campaign. This active committee is now in its second year of activity and publishes its own reproduced monthly, titled BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY.

The DZIENNIK already informed its readers a couple of days ago about the Militia raid against Father Sadlowski. Today we have further details, which Father Salowski revealed in his statement, which was made publically. The Security Service functionaries came to his residence in the late evening. Some crying woman knocked at his door, saying that her father was dying and wanted a priest. This was a trick. After Father Sadlowski opened the door, a uniformed Militia man and several Security Service men in civilian clothes rushed into the presbytery.

They had a search order from the prosecutor in Radom, Wlodzimierz Jastrzab. Although the order encompassed on the presbytery, they took Father Sadlowski's keys and carried out a 2-hour search in the church. The priest, who was taken to Radom, was treated like a common criminal. They took his fingerprints, attempted to interrogate him, and when he refused to sign the protocol a Militia officer told him that all the actions hitherto taken by the Security Service against him are "a game in comparison with what will still happen." The priest was verbally insulted; "You crumb," as he said, was among the most mild of the ways in which he was addressed.

Father Sadlowski was taken from Militia headquarters to the voivodship prosecutor's office, where the deputy prosecutor, Sokolowski, attempted to frighten him by various threats.

The Peasant Self-Defense Committee issued a special declaration in which it demanded that the authorities give satisfaction to their priest-pastor and in which it determined to demonstrate its opposition against the lawlessness

of the Security Service. This declaration includes a series of resolutions, the most important of which it is worthwhile to mention. The inhabitants of the villages in which the Zbrosza Duza Committee is active resolved that on Monday, 11 February, they would conduct what is called a "milk strike." The peasants in all the villages will not deliver milk to the collection point on that day.

They also decided to send a delegation to the Radom Voivodship governor with a demand that he apologize to the priest for the Militia intrusion and their brutal behavior. The delegation is also to demand a return of the confiscated duplicating machine and of 50 reams of paper, without which the information activity of the parish cannot be conducted. They also resolved to install an alarm system to warn against entries into the closed church by persons having no reason to be there. This means, of course, the Security Service. When the alarm signal was given, the inhabitants of the village would be able to appear in the church to defend it against illegal searches.

The committee declaration expresses warm respect for Father Sadlowski for his tireless defense of the rights of the peasants and his general activity on behalf of the rights of believers. The committee also determined to increase the number of copies of each edition of its BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY. Each edition of it has hitherto numbered 2,000 copies and it is disseminated in villages in an ever wider area.

Milk strikes or what are called fruit strikes have already been used more than once by Peasant Self-Defense Committees as one of the more effective weapons in the struggle for satisfaction of the needs of the countryside. As a rule they have had a positive effect.

CSO: 2600

INTEREST GROUPS SEEN OPPOSING SHIFT IN ECONOMIC PRIORITIES

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 2, 12 Jan 80 pp 1, 4

[Article by Ernest Skalski: "Everyone Is For Progress"]

[Text] But not everyone has to understand the same thing under that concept. In any society, different parts of it can have different views of progress, which, in addition, change with time.

In the first years after World War II, the left, which was expanding its influence, had a concept of progress in which structural transformations played a decisive role, that is, the liquidation of former ownership classes, a change in the social role of the working class and of the peasant class, new political structures, an educational revolution, and so on. The problems of the economy, its reconstruction and development were very critical then, but they constituted one of the goals which themselves did not fulfill the total vision of development.

When the problems of government and basic social questions were, in principle, considered to be resolved by the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the six-year plan, there began a long period of the factual primacy of economic goals, and as we now see it it was interpreted rather one-sidedly. This attitude was dictated by economic backwardness and aggravated by the effects of the war and a feeling of being threatened in the international arena. This was accompanied by a conviction that progress in the economic area would determine the superiority of the new system. The economy, on the other hand, was looked at from the standpoint of its main element--industry.

This outline probably does not reflect all of the developmental elements presented at that time, but primarily, progress was industry, if possible, heavy industry, the largest possible industry producing the greatest amount possible without regard to cost. Such a development model was to lead to the solution of fundamental material and social problems. Initially, target attainment was set within a rather short time frame, at least with respect to mass propaganda, linking it with successful completion of the six-year plan, that is, with the year 1955.

This model created its own material and organizational structures. It fashioned a huge production and investment apparatus in the form of enterprises, associations, economics departments and central planning offices. It also exercised an influence on the form and functioning of political and general administrative echelons, subordinated to itself broad areas of science and instruction, and a large segment of social policy, etc., as essential to its needs. Of course, in the course of its 30 years of functioning, changes occurred in the model. The decade of the 1970's brought the most important changes by broadening the concept of progress. The further and hitherto more rapid development of the economy was based on the assumption that the social goals of management must be a primary matter and must manifest themselves immediately. Consumption, or more broadly speaking, quality of life, ceased to be only a burden to progress and became an immediate effect of production.

This change freed new sources of social energy and was one of the main reasons for the acceleration of the 1970's. Now, however, we find ourselves at the end of one decade, in a period of planning the development strategy for the next decade, and the present vision of progress again ceases to be adequate. The more so, because economic growth still continues to depend on progress, possibly with harm for the remaining components.

Nevertheless, we see that expansion of itself, and even modernization of the production base, as well as the ever greater production of an ever greater assortment of goods, gives much but does not resolve everything. It does not eliminate all of the inconveniences and social ills but even makes some more painful.

One of them, which perhaps is not yet that perceptible, but which is most fraught with consequences, is the excessive cost of development in the form of devastating the natural environment, or the dependence on ever more inaccessible and increasingly expensive sources of raw materials and energy.

A second shortcoming of the present method of development, undoubtedly easier to do away with in the future, though painfully felt at present, is the disharmony of economic progress which creates an imbalance between supply and demand, partial satisfaction of needs for goods and services, as well as the growing tensions in consequence of this. Recently, Wiktor Herer and Wacław Sadowski called attention in "POLITYKA" (no 50/79) to the fact that, thus far, this imbalance is a permanent element of our economy, and that only its intensity is different.

These phenomena emerge from the economy's ineffectiveness. Considering the level of technology, this already great, and in some sectors, the modern equipped machine is still somewhat too inefficient. Despite the still too great costs, we continue to get relatively poor results.

The reasons for this are complex. As indicated by Herer and Sadowski, in addition to external and circumstantial reasons, they include other causes which are inherent in the machine itself, and in its internal proportions

and methods of operation. They exist in organization and administration, which despite changes still continue to be too inefficient, in the disproportions between the expanded production base and the inadequate technological and social infrastructure, between industry and other sectors of the economy, between industrial and residential construction, and everything else. Broadly speaking, between the area of production and the area of services.

These disproportions are an ever greater restraint on development and on industry, which itself in large measure created them, and constitutes an ever greater social malady. The disproportions also cause a slowdown in changes in the social structure to one which would be fully responsive to the standards of an industrial society. We still have relatively low social mobility--following some brisk years--, a relatively high agricultural population (with an unfavorable demographic situation) and an inadequate number of people actively engaged in the area of services.

Therefore, if we are to continue to treat progress primarily as further economic growth, primarily industrial economic growth, we will be aggravating all of these social defects, and obtain ever worse results, even in selected development directions. This growth, although perhaps freer, continues to be a condition of further progress, but the basic assumptions are the elimination of disproportions and lack of balance, even at the cost of decreasing the growth tempo, or thanks to such decrease.

This was the direction aimed at by the economic maneuver provisions. They ought not be solely a tactical move toward a worse situation, but ought to become the basis for a socio-economic strategy over a longer period, together with an expansion of the primary list of priorities, that is, the foodstuff and housing group, export, transportation and energy. The Guidelines also indicate this direction, even if they do so by proposing moderate industrial production growth rates and accumulation.

Such moderation can disconcert some people somewhat, but it testifies to the positive phenomena of the shifting of priorities in what we consider progress.

A certain reserve on the part of many people towards slowing down the growth rate could signal the appearance of differing opinions arising not so much relative to ways but rather to further growth means. At any rate, the differences are natural and unavoidable. Insofar as the entire society is agreed in the matter of strategic goals, and it is difficult to imagine any groups, aside from the black market-speculative group, which would not be interested in the elimination of tensions and disproportions, differences of opinion could then arise with respect to the costs of this measure and as to who is going to pay them.

A. K. Wroblewski undertook an analysis of this phenomena ("POLITYKA" 1/79). It can be described as modern social conservatism, or rather as resistance to progress, because a certain concept is linked with conservatism, where this concerns a practice which is opposed to changes. A.K.W. saw the rather socio-psychological sources of such an attitude. It was supposed to be

represented by people who are tired of progress, those who had raised themselves up from their past environment with great effort and at great cost, who treat their hard-earned social and material status, and justly so, as an attainment and value worthy of defense, who can no longer see any further goals before them, and who would not have the strength to realize them. Thus, in this connection, they would reflexively not support changes around them, and would feel these represented threat rather than opportunities.

This surely is an accurate evaluation, based not on deduction but on observation. It is necessary to add to this, that the successes referred to raised many of these people to top and decisive positions in many sectors. Perhaps one should now consider whether their conservatism—undoubtedly significant as a social phenomena—emerges only from a predisposition shaped by their own path, although a path typical of their generation, or whether perhaps it is inherent, perhaps partially, in factors linked with their present social and vocational positions. This is a very real question during a period of changes of any sort. A large and complex machine cannot be reconstructed too radically, although changes in it are a condition of further progress. Likewise, the social structure cannot be changed too quickly without harm and shock, because this concerns changes in the situation of large groups which have defined interests and opinions. Socio-economic policy can be conducted effectively only with their support and participation. In order to get them it is necessary not only to know what groups do exist, but also what their position in the complex system of authority is and in the control of production sources linked with that system. For it is this on which their attitudes depend. An active social policy has to interact with them and resolve the unavoidable conflicts of progress in an optimal manner. The motives of individual social groups are unclear and heterogenous. Even if there are no groups in Poland which would not be adherents of the kind of progress that we are now beginning to understand it as, including social transformations, then numerous and significant circles can be interested primarily in the existence and development of the econo-social elements in which they function regardless of the position the new strategy of development assigns to them. These will undoubtedly be transmission elements, the majority of which are located in the production apparatus outside of agriculture, and also to some extent, representatives of the intermediate layer between them and the direct producers in work plants.

All of them do not negate the necessity of eliminating the disproportions which substantially interfere with their work and life, however, an appraisal itself of work and of a successful life depends more on how its active branches prosper. Consequently, such groups will be spokesmen for technical and organizational progress in their branches but the sum total of their efforts, does not necessarily contribute to social progress and improve the effectiveness of the total economy. Some of that can turn out to be competitive in relation to the new goals occupying ever more room in the provisions of the current development strategy.

After finally accepting this kind of thinking, it would be appropriate to turn critically to a recently initiated plan, in which: progress in industry

is a motive power of progress in general, and the people administering this technology...not technocracy...are pioneers of general progress. They can, even without their own volition, be a stabilizing element. Thus, criticism of attitudes considered as technocratic, must not be accepted solely as a new style.

The industrial complex in the form in which it arose 30 years ago--and in which in large degree it functions to this day--was programmed for continuing growth, whose mechanism somehow drives itself, even if by the unavoidable irregularity of that growth. The creation of machinery factories creates a narrow bottle-neck in the area of castings, screws and shafts. The satisfaction of these needs strains the steel budget. Investments in metallurgy require the expansion of mining, while the mines together with steelworks require new mechanical equipment, while, under those conditions, the machinery factories cease to be adequate. Each successive investment requirement is logically based and supported by convincing calculations, if not financial and material. From the viewpoint of the production apparatus, the most rational way to resolve most problems is through investment from a central pool. Organizational improvement, thrift, a change of concepts, and a shift in production presents substantially more difficult personal effort in the process of administering production means which are that group's primary function. Everyone appears at an auction of resources, each one with his trump cards.

This push for growth, which at one time was necessary, but today is anachronistic as a development model, has, however, formed a system of material incentives and personal ideology as well as a system of priorities, thanks to which there must exist not only those who are more important and better, but also those who are less important and worse, although no one has slighted the latter. That is why it is "better" to smelt steel than to produce pots, to have 15,000 workers rather than 150, to build huge ships rather than to knit small sweaters, but if the latter, let it be in the world's largest sweater factory (maybe even Jarlan) and not in a small plant, even if the small one is more efficient. Economic effectiveness and the discharge of social tasks is still rated lower in this system than characteristic dignity. This kind of an orientation has real grounds in the life interests of people linked with industry. They ensue not only from "setting incentives" but also from all of life's motives and goals, as well as from factors associated with social position.

Such still are the objective conditions which affect the attitudes of the production administration apparatus, from the minister down to the foreman. This is a big organized social force of great weight and penetrating power. In perceiving needs, not only social needs in the broadest sense of the word, but also its own specific needs, it does not necessarily have to opt for the former in the event of conflict between them. Besides that, it can as hitherto, continue pressure for investments, which will make it more difficult to reshuffle resources consistent with the strategy proposals for the 1980s.

Nor do other forces and groups need to be uniform in relation to such a reshuffle. Direct producers in the socialized economy who aspire to maximize consumption, feel the tensions and market scarcities particularly strongly. The underdevelopment of every infrastructure and service area reflects most strongly on them. First of all, by controlling only their own work, they benefit significantly less from the race for maximalization--although some of them do benefit. Because of their positions, construction workers in investment priority enterprises, and workers in the large and largest industrial establishments, all gain some benefits precisely there, in the form of social as well as prestige benefits. Some of them, undoubtedly identify themselves with the development of their establishments or branches, and perhaps might not support changes in priorities which would threaten them in their jobs, but would be beneficial if they looked at themselves as citizens and consumers. It does not appear as if any kinds of meaningful conservative attitudes could arise with respect to modified understanding of progress in the remaining social groups (agriculture, the services sector, non-economic institutions) in which all of the deficiencies resulting from the relative overgrowth of industry and the autonomy of its goals, are felt first, and from which such groups derive no particular benefits.

The attitude of political and general administration authorities is also very important, in the broadly understood, "area."

In taking into account the interests of all parts of society, the center must, to be sure, also take note of the "technocratic" groups attitudes, but must have a broader perspective, and a goal to maintain the balance and macrosocial rationality. It must place public interest above everything. It is the center which is the author of the changed concept of development, the withdrawal from the hegemony of growth in the direction of balance. At this moment, we find ourselves in the phase of developing the instruments of this policy. At times, these still are summary methods of forcing the production apparatus into anti-particular activities--emphasis on export and market production, assortment lists, restraining the rise of certain prices, the safeguarding of residential construction and other social priorities.

Only the model changes which Herer and Sadowski wrote about in the article referred to above, aimed at greater economic self-sufficiency by economic units, can turn out to be more effective. At the present, transitory stage, the center is defending itself against their investment pressures, and is establishing numerous barriers which make access to resources difficult, something that might even increase efforts to acquire them. Undoubtedly, with time, this competitive pressure will be more effectively restrained by saddling them with investment responsibility and accountability, not only for current activity, but also for developmental growth. This, however, will require many important changes.

Insofar as "area" is concerned, it is undergoing a very characteristic evolution of its relationship to the concept of development. The system of local authorities, and dependence had, of yore, also been subordinated to the concept of growth. Local hierarchies were evaluated primarily by the

progress of economic investments and production activity in their area, despite their limited influence on the one and the other. At the same time, resources for the area's needs went by the kind of channels which would make acquisition of a silicate factory in the wilderness more profitable than conservation of the said wilderness.

The system of calculating resources and their cycle, has not undergone any special changes, however, local hierarchies and structures see and sense much more comprehensively than does the economic hierarchy the variety of social needs and the impossibility of their full satisfaction solely through expansion of the production, particularly of the industrial production base. From their standpoint, they note the underdevelopment of the social infrastructure to be a threat to the environment and in general, to the so-called human problems which speak for a change in the concept of management.

A certain revision of the concept of growth, the necessity for changes in planning socio-economic development, these are problems which are so complex that they cannot find simultaneous and univocal reflection in the consciousness and attitudes of all groups and social elements. Certain differences of opinion can arise from the objective situations of these groups. Even in the absence of antagonistic differences in society, and its unity on fundamental problems, the detailed interests of all of its parts do not have to be identical in everything. There can be differences and even contradictions between them which need to be resolved. To be sure, to everyone's satisfaction, however, everyone cannot be satisfied similarly. The unsatisfied ones will, unfortunately, be spokesmen for the expansion of most branches of industry. It is unpleasant to harm a long-term pupil, but the conviction that he enjoyed many fat years--at the public's expense--and that slimming diet is essential even for him, makes it easier. He will be healthier and more active.

10433

CSO: 2600

RENEWAL OF MARXIST REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT DISCUSSED

Iasi CRONICA in Romanian 4 Jan 80 p 2

[Third installment of article by Valter Roman; for parts I and II see JPRS 75151, 15 Feb 80, No 1765 of this series pp 37-47]

[Text] In this context it is useful and necessary not to bypass the fact that recently there has been a lot of talk (in certain countries) about the "crisis of Marxism," about the "agony" and even about the "end" and its "death." This discussion (but not only this) projects a basic problem on the screen of the present. The evolution of Marxist thought, the evolution of socialism in the world, contradictory interpretations and many distortions of thinking, of revolutionary theory in recent decades--can they really justify the conclusion regarding the existence of a "crisis" and the prolonged "agony" of this theory?

It is the time for us to say from the very start that the problem of the "crisis" of Marxism and bringing this problem into discussion are far from new. Throughout many decades and on the most varied occasions, passionate discussions have been held on this subject many times. For example, let us recall the ones at the end of the last century and start of this century. It is sufficient for us to refer to Antonio Labriola who, taking an attitude against Th. G. Masaryk's speculations, the person who first brought out the idea of the "crisis of Marxism," in 1899 published an article entitled "In Connection With the Crisis of Marxism" in ITALIAN REVIEW OF SOCIOLOGY.

With fine irony, Labriola showed the real causes for this campaign in which Masaryk and others, speaking of the crisis of Marxism, actually wished to prove its "death." Uncovering the total inconsistency of these authors' arguments, Labriola pushes the criticism of Masaryk's ideas to the limits of what is possible without, however, making any kind of apology for Marxism, guarding against making perhaps just as serious a mistake as Masaryk. He warns against any exaggeration, against the absolutisation or dogmatization of Marx' various theses.

Labriola wrote: "Even today you can be an adherent of historical materialism, at the same time taking into consideration the new social-historical experience and making the necessary revision of the ideas which have gone

through or which are being subject to correction due to the natural course of thought. Historical materialism has not achieved its total perfection in the writings of Marx and Engels and I dare state even more categorically that the improvement and development of this doctrine is still going rather slowly."

These ideas are an eloquent witness to the fact that the concepts and theses worked out by Marx and Engels were not viewed by their immediate continuers as some dogma worked out once and for all, but rather, as Lenin said, merely as a guide for action.

Today one can find a renewal of the idea of "crisis," of "agonv," of "death." Actually, the discussion around this problem never disappeared (from the end of the last century up until today) from the scene of the big ideological confrontations. However, the intensity of it today is much greater than in the past. Such ideas are being promoted not only by the stated adversaries of socialism, but they also have found a place--in one form or another, in one direction or another--among Marxists. The expression of the "crisis of Marxism" is being used from the "new philosophers" and the "new right" right up to some Marxist thinkers, attributing to Marx even some phenomena, distortions which have marked the evolution of socialism here and there in recent decades. The representatives of the "new right," about whom even Raymond Aron said that their concepts are reminiscent of "subjects which in other times filled Nazi literature," are identifying themselves with all those--and perhaps first with the "new philosophers"--who in a total way are disputing Marxism and who are asserting that "Marxism means Gulag" (B. H. Levy) and that certain dogmatic distortions of Marxism were produced "not despite Marxism but due to it" (A. Glucksmann). Some ideologists of the bourgeoisie (but not only they) are making the general crisis of capitalism equal with the so-called "crisis of Marxism." Of course, one also may speak of a "crisis." Everything depends on what is understood, what is wanted to be understood by this. There are "crises" and there are crises. It depends what we are referring to. In any case, to place an equal sign between the crisis of capitalism--that is, between the general, total, structural, multidimensional crisis of the capitalist system--and the "crisis" of Marxism clearly is a diversionary attempt to draw away the attention of the working masses in the developed capitalist countries from the continued worsening of their situation and from the lack of prospects for capitalism. It is a matter of two "areas" of two totally different phenomena.

If some people place an equal sign between the crisis of the capitalist system and the so-called crisis of Marxism, others--who wish to appear as men of science--are attempting to establish an analogy between the crisis of physics from the end of the last century and the crisis of our century and the "crisis" of Marxism. However, we know that the crisis in a totally special way was caused by the fact that classical physics could not explain the new phenomena which researchers came up against while penetrating a new "world," the atom, the "world" of elementary particles. One may not speak of Marxism in the same way. The capitalist world has not disappeared yet. Marx' teaching in any case and primarily is a criticism of the capitalist system. As long as capitalism exists (although modern capitalism is not

absolutely identical with the one of the past), the basic laws of capitalist society discovered by Marx, although with certain retouching, remain valid. But its methodology extends its validity even beyond this. It is also valid for the analysis of today's realities which neither Marx nor Lenin could anticipate with mathematical exactness.

I feel that to speak of and accept the idea of a crisis, the idea of the end of Marxism and Marxist thought do not correspond to reality, despite the fact that some appearances at a first and superficial glance could justify such an expression, such a "finding." To accept the existence of this "crisis" would mean to confuse a poor copy (sometimes more than poor) with an original which shines, to confuse Marx' and Engels' concept of the world and society, a materialist view of history with its dogmatized or social-democratized version, with the mistakes and distortions which took place in various areas and various countries in the world communist movement on the basis of pragmatic, rigid and metaphysical interpretations. In a word, the "crisis" of Marxism is one thing and the crisis of a certain thesis or of certain theses, evaluations, specific historical experiences which had at their base a certain interpretation of Marxist thought, an absolutizing abstract, ahistorical, reformist, dogmatic and false interpretation, is something else. What we reject is not the teaching of Marx, Engels and Lenin but a caricature-like, dogmatic and isolated form in which it has appeared in various historical stages, including during our time. This also caused a certain lagging behind of this thought compared with new historical realities which were changing and are changing at a faster rate, bringing out the fact that throughout the historical evolution of the last century and, in particular, the 20th century, problems have existed and continue to exist today which still have not been solved (either partially or totally) by Marxist thought.

The elaboration of modern Marxism, however, cannot mean a renunciation of what we could call classical Marxism, just as elaboration of quantum mechanics cannot mean a renunciation of classical mechanics. Einstein did not make Newton disappear, did not exclude him. The theory of relativity does not do away with classic mechanics. Clearly a simple, formal equal sign with regard to the type of development may not be placed between classical and quantum mechanics, between Darwinist biology and Mendel-Morgan biology, between Ampere's "cybernetics" and Wiener's cybernetics on one hand and the Marxism elaborated by Marx and Engels and modern Marxism on the other hand, just as it is not possible to confuse nature with society and the laws of development of nature with those of society. But due to the fact that society began to exist and is existing within nature and that there is a certain correlation between nature and society (a systematic concept bringing out this correlation particularly clearly), it is possible to speak of certain analogies. That is why the idea of a quantum revolution (even if this is not the happiest expression) has its purpose although it still has not been elaborated equally in all its dimensions.

"Of course, it cannot be merely a matter of simple additions to which already exists or of single interpretation of Marxism which, unfortunately,

dominated an entire era; the development of Marxist thought also means the elaboration of new theses in agreement with new realities. Just as quantum mechanics is not a simple extension of classical mechanics, modern Marxism cannot be a simple extension of Marx' theory" (V. Roman, "On the Paths for the Transition to Socialism," ANNALS OF HISTORY No 3, 1977). Although it is a question of the existence of classic Marxism with modern Marxism, both are expressions of the same Marxism, of a creative Marxism, just as classical physics and quantum physics are components of the same physics. Of course, this comparison is relative, since the social sciences and the natural sciences cannot be confused, each having specific characteristics besides common features. Modern Marxism means both the return to the source (eliminating the entire dogmatic as well as reformist crust) and at the same time means new developments in the spirit of Marx' creative thought.

Today, to be a Marxist revolutionary does not mean simply repeating everything that Marx and Engels said a century ago or that Lenin said 50 years ago without any judgment or ad absurdum; this means preserving the theoretical treasury, keeping the theses which are valid even today; it means the appropriate usage of Marx' methods in order to discover the new contradictions of new historical realities and elaborating new theses, fixing appropriate ways and means for overcoming them. The creative spirit of Marxism means a lively thought, a methodology for innovative historical initiative. Otherwise you go against history. It cannot be a matter either of absolutization of the relativity of our certainties or of capitulation before the uncertainties, before despair.

With total justification Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said in July 1979: "If Marx, Engels and Lenin would have been satisfied merely with repeating what was known in the practice then, they would not have made science." And, further: "If we truly want to be revolutionaries and contribute to the development of society, we must make a creative contribution to the development of thought and practice of socialism" (Nicolae Ceausescu, "Speech at the Joint Plenum of the RCP Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania," 4-5 July 1979, p 16).

At the same time it should be stressed that the criticism of Marxism is one thing and the crisis of Marxism is another just as, generally, criticism and crisis are two separate concepts. Let us not forget that Marx himself spoke of the need for a "critical and revolutionary spirit" in the revolutionary movement within the revolutionary parties. Let us not forget that Marxism itself is a united revolutionary concept of the world, society, man and thought of the working class and, as such, it, too, is subject to the laws of development. The evolution of Marxist thought, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stated, must reflect its continual renewal in relationship with the new historical realities; revolutionary, Marxist thought must surpass itself continually. Of course, it must be stated immediately that its dogmatized form or its social-democratized form has nothing in common with such a process of continual renewal.

The great historical task for mankind and for modern Marxist thought lies in anticipating what is to be with all the scientific instruments available

and with a penetrating mind, adapting from now on to what is in the making, to what is or is becoming new and not hanging on to what belongs to a past which is gone forever. No return to the past in any form is possible. Our departure from one era, characterized among other things by an abundance of f assile energy and by technological progress and our entry into a more difficult era full of constraints (which mankind has seen before but which today must be confronted under conditions which are very different than in the past)--all this requires a new thinking and a new model of development and of growth in order to avoid crises and catastrophes which are irreversible. Our forward progress toward a new step of civilization, however, must have as the goal not only "more" but also (and perhaps primarily) something "better." We find ourselves at the crossroads of an era and this cannot be separated from periods of profound changes. The main characteristic of these historical changes must be the move from quantity to quality (without neglecting the need for dialectical unity between quality and quantity and the achievement of turning point in the development of material and spiritual life. How correct Marx was in his "Eighteen November of Ludwig Bonaparte" (1852) when he said: "The traditions of all the dead generations press like a nightmare on the minds of the living. The social revolution of the 19th century can absorb its poetry only from the future, not from the past. It cannot begin the fulfillment of its own mission before shedding any superstitious veneration of the past. The revolution of the 19th century must leave its dead and bury the dead in order to follow its own content." (Marx-Engels, "Works," Volume 8, Bucharest, Political Publishers, 1960, p 119, 121 , 122). These words of Marx are just as current today as when they were put on paper.

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INCREASED POWER OF REPUBLICS DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Jan 80 p 10

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Does the Way Lead to a 'Yugoslav Alliance'?-- The Growing Power of the Republics"]

[Text] Belgrade, 29 January--As yet, the Yugoslav parliament has been unable to pass the budget for 1980 because representatives of the various republics have been unable to agree on the amount of foreign currency quotas for imports. Many economists here think there has to be a signal devaluation of the dinar in order to promote exports and reduce the balance-of-payments deficit, and an important reason why such a step does not appear possible is that the republics would have to participate in such a decision and that extensive discussions would be required in republican political bodies. Makeshift adjustments are being made instead in the form of minor gradual steps. Notwithstanding the fact that the constitution guarantees unity of the Yugoslav market, firms whose activity extends beyond the boundaries of a single republic are faced with increasing problems. Western firms exporting to Yugoslavia have to spend the barter share of the profit, amounting to 50 percent on the average, not simply in Yugoslavia but in the republic concerned. According to some Belgrade observers, Yugoslavia now can reach central economic policy decisions only with great difficulty.

After restoration of the strong party rule following the 1971-1972 purges, the motto was to have a decentralized state but a centralist party. The powers of the republics, particularly in regard to authority over economic resources, today are greater than ever, though owing to the political conditions they do not manifest themselves as dramatically as for example during the "Croatian spring." A new feature, however, is the fact that increasingly this decentralization is not being offset as planned by a uniformly organized party. The party presidium, particularly since it was tightened at the last party congress in 1978, has become a body in which the key politicians of the individual republics, are represented. It is being taken for granted that its members have their power base in the republic and face each other in Belgrade as representatives of their republics, as it were. It is being noted that the so-called "informal group" too, which is slowly emerging from the supreme organs of state and party as the decisive center of leadership, represents a kind of inner circle of these representatives of the republics. As someone in Belgrade

put it recently, after Tito Yugoslavia might function more as an alliance than as the traditional kind of unitary state.

Grlickov, a Macedonian member of the party presidium and at the same time of the "inner circle," expressed the view to foreign correspondents that precisely because of the decentralized power structure the "collective leadership" promoted by Tito was bound to work better in Yugoslavia than had happened in "other cases." And in fact an individual probably would have a hard time in this system to usurp at the expense of the rest a central power which exists only in outline; and similarly it is likely to be difficult to eliminate a member of the "collective leadership" if and as long as this member derives its power not from the central apparatus but from some quite different source.

Such a "Yugoslav system of alliance" need not by any means mean the ruin or even weakening of state coherence. Strong central institutions will continue to exist--primarily the armed forces, in whose services even today coordinating efforts are also being made to insure internal security. The "informal group" in the political leadership is being supported by a National Security Council, a coordinating body headed by Bakaric on which personages from the political as well as the high administrative level, including some generals, are represented. It is simply a fact that Yugoslav reality tends toward decentralization and that the strong central personal authority of Tito, which has formed a counterweight so far, cannot be immediately replaced. Bakaric himself, in a much noted television address on the occasion of Edvard Kardelj's 70th birthday, recently lent his full support to decentralization. The republics, he said, are the basis of this Yugoslav society, and the federation--the federal government--is coordinated by the republics. The concept of "pluralism of interests" coined by Kardelj in the sense of "interests of self-administration" and expanded by Bakaric in a more general sense certainly can be applied to the mutual relationship of the republics and autonomous territories.

The army and officials are, however, not the only factors that Yugoslavia can display as protecting its integrity. There is also an economy built along modern lines, which despite the present wailing is in a sound state, a transport system that works fairly well, innumeral shifts in population including mixed marriages, and even increasing rationality in relations between nationalities. While these factors cannot eliminate the republics' own political and economic momentums, they can lead the way to cooperation. The new leading group which is becoming apparent (and which even in the event of a recovery by Tito is not by any means likely to revert to the rank and file) has already indicated that it is realistic and has its sights set on a modern Yugoslavia. It will neither be able to nor want to maintain fully the foreign political ambitions of a Tito; this will require certain changes but will probably only have a positive effect on the country as a whole. In the wake of the latest Soviet-U.S. tension, Yugoslavia today again, as in the fifties, has become a focal point of the opposition between the two world powers.

LJUBICIC PAYS TRIBUTE TO GENERAL GOSNJAK

LD1212022 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT
11 Feb 80 LD

[Text] Belgrade—A joint commemorative session of the representatives of the organs and organizations of the federation was held today in the SFRY Assembly in connection with the death of the prominent fighter and revolutionary, Army Gen Ivan Gosnjak.

In addition to close members of the late Ivan Gosnjak's family, the commemorative session was also attended by representatives of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and of the SFRY presidency, of the interment committee, of the Federal Executive Council, of the SAWPY Federal Conference Presidium, of the Central Council Presidium of the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia, of the Federal Council Presidium of the Federation of Veterans' Associations of Yugoslavia, of the conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, of the Yugoslav People's Army, of the central committees of the League of Communists of Serbia and of the city of Belgrade, of the federal committee of the Federation of Reserve Officers of Yugoslavia, and of the Federal Economic Chamber.

Dusan Dragosavac, the chairman, opened the session and then called on those present to pay tribute to the late Ivan Gosnjak by observing 1 minute's silence.

Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, spoke of the personality, life and revolutionary struggle of Ivan Gosnjak.

Nikola Ljubicic said that with the premature death of Ivan Gosnjak, our socialist community, the League of Communists and our armed forces have lost a proven fighter of our nations and nationalities, a hard worker in the struggle for our independent and nonaligned position in international relations and a senior military commander who put all his strength into the consolidation of our armed forces and into the defense of our country as a whole.

Ivan Gosnjak, as a prominent revolutionary and communist and as a participant in the Spanish Civil War and our revolution, belonged to a generation which lived and grew up together with our party and which created its history and the history of the working class movement in our country.

Speaking of Ivan Gosnjak's military career, Nikola Ljubicic stressed that he was a textbook case of a true man, hero and commander coming from the people. Although out of modesty he often stressed that he never thought he could fully get on top of the duties which he held, Ljubicic added, it was with the instinct of a soldier who acquired his military skills in the field of battle that he led the Partisan Army from victory to victory. With his personal example of courage and resolve and his belief in victory and readiness to sacrifice his own life for freedom he instilled moral confidence and self-confidence into his men even in the most difficult times.

As an indefatigable fighter for correct relations among the people he worked for human solidarity and reciprocal trust and for the kind of relations in which the personality of the man and of the officer is valued above everything else and in which they can manifest themselves most as active factors in the overall life and work in the unit. For this reason, Ljubicic said, he not only valued their work enthusiasm but also their preoccupations, inclinations and worries.

As a prominent military commander, Nikola Ljubicic went on to say, with the particular passion of a revolutionary, Gosnjak built moral-political qualities in the men, in keeping with the requirements of our socialist society, and brought out in them initiative, self-denial, stability, responsibility, inexhaustible work energy, comradeship, modesty and honesty. Knowing that nothing is taken in by the people as profoundly as personal example, he built up these qualities in himself. Hence all those who had contacts with him knew him as a valuable comrade, commander and communist, and as a modest and honest man totally devoted to the objectives of the revolution and to Comrade Tito's work, much of which was in the personality of that staid and calm man who knew how to respect and value his associates in a way which was his own. This spirit, work and humanism, as well as his conduct as a commander and as a man, became an inseparable part of the activity of his associates, men and officers of our army.

Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic added that with his military and political activity, Ivan Gosnjak resolutely fought for brotherhood and unity and equality of our nations and nationalities. He taught men and officers to resist without compromise the policy of fratricidal war, hatred and division pursued by the occupiers and the traitors. He worked with particular attention on the nurturing of the revolutionary traditions of the national liberation war, on the consolidation of the most direct possible links between the army and the people and on the construction of socialist patriotic and moral-political awareness.

The course of Ivan Gosnjak's life as a man, fighter and revolutionary was difficult, arduous and thorny, Nikola Ljubicic said. This course took him from his first awareness of socialist injustice and the suppression of our nations and nationalities, from a courageous and persistent soldier with a rifle in his hand in Spain and Yugoslavia, and from a proven and unswerving communist devoted to our party and Comrade Tito, to a truly persistent and sincere fighter for a new society and for more humane relations among the people and for a better and happier future.

With Comrade Gosnjak's death the League of Communists in our society has lost a revolutionary who was always present where things were most difficult and where struggle was being waged for freedom and a better future. Our armed forces have lost a capable military commander, general and leader who, over a period of many years, incorporated in them his revolutionary creative spirit of a true communist revolutionary and fighter, Army Gen Nikola Ljubicic said in conclusion.

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